

THIRTY-FIFTH CONGRESS.

First Session.

THURSDAY, MARCH 11, 1858.

SENATE.

MEMORIALS, PETITIONS, ETC.

Mr. BROWN presented a petition of residents of the city of Washington, praying an appropriation of \$5,000 for the purpose of lighting, with gas lamps, and a half street from Pennsylvania avenue to the southern point of the United States arsenal; which was referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

Mr. DOOLITTLE presented a memorial of the legislature of Wisconsin in behalf of the claim of John Shaw, and also the memorial of John Shaw, praying compensation for services rendered in the capture of the late war with Great Britain; which were referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. CAMERON presented five memorials numerously signed by the first merchants and citizens of the city of Philadelphia, praying the establishment of a line of mail steamers between that city and Brazil, touching at Savannah, Ga., and the West India Islands; which were referred to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

REPORTS FROM COMMITTEES.

Mr. HUNTER, from the Committee on Finance, to whom was referred the bill from the House of Representatives to appropriate money to supply deficiencies in the appropriations for paper, printing, and the traveling orders by the Senate and House of Representatives of the Thirty-third and Thirty-fourth Congresses, and which has been executed, reported it without amendment, and asked its immediate consideration; and no objection being made, it was read a third time and passed.

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED.

On motion by Mr. SEWARD, a resolution was adopted requesting the President of the United States to communicate to the Senate any information in possession of the executive department in relation to the alleged discoveries of guano in the year 1855, and the measures taken to ascertain the correctness of the same; and also any report made to the Navy Department in relation to the discovery of guano in Jarvis and Baker's Islands, with the charts, soundings, and sailing directions for those islands.

On motion by Mr. FITCH, a resolution was adopted requesting the Secretary of the Interior to communicate to the Senate copies of all instructions from his department to the United States marshal for the district of Utah.

On motion by Mr. HARRIS, a resolution was adopted requesting the Secretary of War to communicate to the Senate any information in his department relative to the sale of Fort Crawford military reservation, within the State of Iowa.

BILLS PASSED.

The following bills were considered and passed:
Bill for the relief of Ephraim Hunt.
Bill for the relief of the heirs of John B. Hand.

ADMISSION OF KANSAS.

Mr. HUNTER remarked that he had given notice yesterday of his intention to move to have a recess taken from four o'clock to six o'clock, in order to give the Senate a full opportunity to be heard on the bill for the admission of Kansas. He had had with him senators on the other side, he had led to believe that there would be an opportunity for all to speak on the question who desired without having night sessions; and, therefore, he should withhold the motion until a conversation with him; and he wished to say that he could not mention any particular time when he could pledge himself that the debate would be finished. There was no disposition on his side of the chamber to prolong the time unnecessarily. He thought that the Senate ought to have an opportunity to debate the bill in the usual hours of sitting, without being crowded into the late hours of night. No reason had been assigned by the friends of the bill for any great haste in this matter, and surely the Senate had not thus far been over diligent, for they had only sat one Friday, he believed, during the present session, and that was upon the extraordinary occasion of passing the treasury-note bill. He claimed the right to speak in behalf of the people of Ohio, and to do it in reasonable hours; but he did not wish to be understood as intending to spend a very long time in debating the bill, for he should not.

Mr. POLK then addressed the Senate in an able and argumentative speech in favor of the admission of Kansas under the Lecompton constitution. He remarked that Kansas, as well as Missouri, was situated in the territory which was ceded to this country by France, and the treaty guaranteed the right of admission into the Union of the States. He said that the people of Kansas were equal with the original States. Indeed, Kansas was only separated from Missouri by an imaginary line; and were there any good reasons why she should not be admitted, and if so, what were they? He said that the requisite population? That is not denied by any one. Do not her people desire to be admitted as a State? There can be as little doubt upon that point. Nobody has opposed her admission for the reason that her people preferred that she should continue to occupy a territorial position. Even the disorganizers in the Territory, the opponents of law and order, long before the constitutional convention, desired that Kansas should be admitted as a State constitution at Topeka, and presented it to Congress, asking admission under it as a State into this Union. Of course, the party in favor of the Lecompton constitution are in favor of admission as a State; and this, then, is a subject on which both parties are agreed. Both parties desire that Kansas should be admitted as a State. There is only one question more which Congress has any authority to ask, and that is, is the constitution repugnant to its form? Mr. P. remarked that he knew of no one except the senator from Connecticut (Mr. Forrester) who denied that; and since it was generally conceded, there was no need of arguing the point. Thus the whole question was presented in a nutshell.

But this admission was resisted by argument, by denunciation, by stratagem, and by all the means that could be brought into requisition, *per fas et nefas*; and he proceeded to notice and reply to some of the objections which have been urged. This constitution was submitted on the ground that it was not an embodiment of the will of the people; but what were the facts in relation to its formation? It was the deliberate and formal act of a convention of the people of the Territory, which assembled for the purpose of forming it. That convention was the result of a series of acts by the people, and it was the only one which was held under the provisions of the organic act. It was not held until a year and a quarter had elapsed after the law was passed, thus giving ample time for a calm and deliberate expression of opinion. This vote was not taken at a special election, at which only a few voters might have turned out; but it was held at the same time and place that members of the territorial legislature and other territorial officers were chosen. Thus it was so ordered that there might be the fullest possible turn-out of the people, and therefore the fairest utterance of the popular will. That the popular will was fairly expressed there can be no reasonable doubt.

The next step was taken three months after this election transpired, when the result of the election came before the territorial legislature for its action. Time enough had intervened for the result to be known in every locality in the Territory, and throughout the whole country. This legislature had been chosen with a full knowledge of the subject of the admission of Kansas, and the Union as a State would contain the same law of the land, and therefore may be supposed to have intimated the will of the people in its action on this subject; and the legislature, in conformity with the will of the people, provided for calling a constitutional convention. Then a period of four months was allowed to elapse before the passage of the law to take effect before the election of delegates to the constitutional convention—thus giving the people plenty of time for bringing out their candidates, canvassing their merits, discussing the subjects involved in the contemplated action, and doing everything necessary in order to have a free choice of delegates. The election of delegates took place, and then another interval of three months elapsed between that election and the session of the convention, thus affording ample time and opportunity to any person who wished to contest the seat of any member, and giving the members an opportunity to prepare themselves for a proper discharge of the duties of the convention which had been committed to their hands by their fellow-citizens.

Contrast these proceedings with what transpired in the

Territory of Minnesota. In the latter case, the will of the people was determined by the delegates, and they proceeded to form a State constitution. There was a great contrast, and it is in favor of the legality and fairness of the proceedings in Kansas. The great, primordial question whether they wished to come into the Union at all, or not, was determined in Minnesota, not by the people themselves, but simply by these delegates. To the people of Minnesota this question was never submitted by a direct vote; in Kansas it was. If it was necessary in the case of Kansas that the whole constitution should be submitted to the people at the polls for their approval or rejection, would it not equally necessary in Minnesota that the question whether they would have a State constitution at all or not should be submitted to the people? In Kansas they submitted the question whether they wished to come into the Union; in Minnesota they did not. In Minnesota they submitted the whole constitution to the people; in Kansas they did not, but they did submit that which was the single and vital question before the people. The question whether they would tolerate slavery or not was submitted to the people in accordance with the direct provisions of the constitution; and by the people that question has been settled.

When looking at the proceedings in these proceedings, not from the low party arena, but from the standpoint of the patriot who loves representative liberty—liberty resting on written constitutions and regulated by law—what a magnificent spectacle in presented, of the people of that Territory marching forward with a stately pace to the accomplishment of their purpose, with a movement as grand as the flow of the tide or the travel of the stars. The Lecompton constitution was quite as unexceptionable as the constitutions of most of the States of the confederacy; and if it had not contained an article tolerating slavery, no doubt it would have passed without challenge from the most vehement clamor against it.

But it was alleged that there were some irregularities in some of the proceedings preceding its adoption. In regard to this matter, some senators had fallen into gross errors, both of fact and theory. Mr. P. then went on to state the facts, and showed that the convention for the convention a fact was required, and that half of the counties in the Territory were disfranchised by act of their own. He denominated it a monstrous proposition that one legislative body should pass upon the election returns of the members of another. It had also changed the date of the election, and the date of the election, although repeatedly made and earnestly insisted upon, were destitute of proof. In all the mass of evidence taken by the committee of the House of Representatives, there cannot be found the testimony of a witness who would swear that a single voter in any district was prevented from voting by any Missouri or Missourians. They were there, they said, with arms in their hands; but they made no aggression or attack upon anybody. It was eminently a peaceful election; and in this respect it would contrast favorably with the elections in the early history of some of the older States of this Union.

The election of the 4th of January he regarded as entirely unobjectionable under the Lecompton constitution. The legislature had no authority to interfere with the work of the convention in any way; they could neither make a constitution nor interfere with the making of a constitution. If such a power could be admitted, any subsequent legislature could do the same thing; if it could be done by a legislature six weeks after the election, it could be done by a legislature six months after the election. But in addition to that, he believed it could be demonstrated to a reasonable certainty, that a large portion of the vote of ten thousand against the constitution on the 4th of January was spurious.

It was urged that the admission of Kansas under the Lecompton constitution would lead to civil war. No man could deprive such a result of its probability, but he could not be deterred from doing what he believed to be his duty on account of forebodings of evil which he never expected would be realized. Let Kansas be admitted, and when the burdens of government fall on the people it will subside in subordination with marvellous rapidity. He therefore believed the admission of Kansas would prove a measure of pacification there and throughout the entire land.

Allusion was made to the epithet "border ruffians," by which a portion of his constituents had been stigmatized. Among the population inhabiting the counties of Missouri bordering on Kansas were men who in point of natural endowment, education, and intelligence, would not suffer by comparison with the population of the same number of counties in any part of our widely-extended country. There were also in those counties frontier men, who were entitled to respect for their noble, manly character; they were not silky, slippery, and subtle—the fit instruments of treachery and deception—but brave, generous, intrepid, and hospitable. They were the pioneers of civilization; they were the first to follow the star of empire on its western way. By them the seeds of liberty have been scattered, and falling into the rich and virgin soil of the West, they will spring up and bear abundant fruit for all who shall succor them. Rough in exterior, their hearts are true and free from guile. There are errors of heart and act of the heart, and those men were not justly liable to the censure and obloquy which have been heaped upon them.

Mr. BENJAMIN said that after the able and eloquent discourse which had been delivered by the senator from Missouri, if he should have regarded his own feelings, he would have chosen to make another occasion for the expression of his own views on this question; but he was admonished by the increasing impetuosity of senators, and by the desire not only of this body, but of the country at large, to arrive at an early decision of this subject, that all other considerations must give way, and each senator must do his duty as promptly as he may.

He then resumed his remarks, and said that he had been greatly surprised to find that the whole people of the Territory were in favor of the Lecompton constitution. This naturally formed, and thus boldly avowed, were not to be affected by any argument he could offer; but so long as he had a constitutional duty to perform on this floor, he deemed it among the most sacred of all obligations to protest against the doctrine thus asserted, and exposed to the light of day, with a violence and recklessness, and he regretted to be compelled to add, with a disregard of truth and decency which would yet bring down upon their authors the indignant condemnation of their countrymen.

The question is now narrowed down to a single point, whether it be competent for Congress, directly or indirectly, to exclude slavery from the Territory of the United States. The Supreme Court have given a negative answer; and he would endeavor to support it by arguments independent of the decision of that court. The radical, fundamental error which underlies the argument in affirmation of this power, is the assumption that slavery is the creature of statute law, in the several States where it is established. It is not; it is a creature of the common law of those States—that slaves are not property beyond those limits, and that property in slaves is neither recognized nor protected by the constitution of the United States, nor by international law. Mr. B. said he controverted all these propositions, and proceeded to show, that as the thirteen colonies, when British colonies, were not established by statute law, but by the common law of England as they then existed, and adopted its principles for their government, England established slavery in those colonies, and protected the institution; she originated and carried on the slave trade, supported and fostered that trade, and forced the colonies to give up the principle of free trade; she also prohibited them from navigating any legislation in diminution or discouragement of the institution. He also said that African slavery existed in England at the date of the revolution, and slaves were sold at the Exchange, at the markets, and other places of public resort. In London, as in this country, the colored slave was the common law of the thirteen States, at the time they burst the bonds of the mother country, and it would to this day exist in every northern State if it had not been abolished. Slavery, in its broadest sense, existed in England in the time of Queen Elizabeth; the slaves were only manumitted by their owners paying for themselves; and the institution did not entirely disappear until the time of James the Second.

Mr. B. sustained the decision of the Supreme Court in the *Dred Scott* case, and replied to the attacks of Messrs. COLLAMER and FRANKLIN on that decision, in an able and convincing manner. Upon the conclusion of his remarks.

Mr. CHANDLER obtained the floor, and the Senate adjourned.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Mr. REAGAN, of Texas, presented certain joint resolutions of the legislature of that State, asking the establishment of a military post on the frontier of Texas; which were referred to the Committee on Military Affairs and ordered to be printed.

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THE ARMY BILL.

The House resumed the consideration of the bill to provide for the organization of a regiment of mounted volunteers for the defense of the frontier of Texas; and to authorize the President to call into the service of the United States four additional regiments of volunteers.

Mr. STANTON, of Ohio, said he preferred the bill referred to by Mr. REAGAN to that reported by Mr. REAGAN, from the minority of the Committee on Military Affairs, because, if there existed any necessity for any increase of the army, it could only arise out of the temporary disturbances in the Territory of Utah, which it was reasonable to believe would be disposed of in a single campaign. When looking at the proceedings in these proceedings, not from the low party arena, but from the standpoint of the patriot who loves representative liberty—liberty resting on written constitutions and regulated by law—what a magnificent spectacle in presented, of the people of that Territory marching forward with a stately pace to the accomplishment of their purpose, with a movement as grand as the flow of the tide or the travel of the stars. The Lecompton constitution was quite as unexceptionable as the constitutions of most of the States of the confederacy; and if it had not contained an article tolerating slavery, no doubt it would have passed without challenge from the most vehement clamor against it.

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WASHINGTON CITY.

FRIDAY MORNING, MARCH 12, 1858.

YESTERDAY'S PROCEEDINGS IN THE HOUSE.

The attentive reader of congressional proceedings will be attracted by those of the House on yesterday. Mr. Thomas L. Harris endeavored to bring the proceedings of his committee of fifteen on Kansas affairs before the House on a question of privilege.

It will be remembered that Mr. Stephens on the day before had endeavored to present the report of the majority of the committee; but that objection being made to receiving it on a point of order, its presentation had been left to await the regular course of business in the House.

The question of privilege on which Mr. Harris endeavored to obtain the action of the House yesterday, seemed to have been based upon the proposition that the committee had not executed the order of the House for which it was raised. The Speaker decided that a question of privilege could not arise on such a fact if it existed; and from this decision Mr. Harris appealed. The test voting was on this appeal.

Upon the hypothesis that the committee had not executed the order of the House, the regular course of proceeding certainly would have been to receive the report proffered by the majority of the committee, (through which alone the House could obtain any knowledge at all of the action of the committee), and for the House to found whatever action it might see proper to take in the premises upon that report and the accompanying minutes of the committee's proceedings. The usual course of proceeding, where a parliamentary body is of opinion that a committee has not executed the order intrusted to it, is to recommit the subject-matter either to a new committee, discharging the old one; or to the old committee; or to the old committee enlarged.

This was precisely the course recommended by Mr. Stephens on Wednesday last, namely: that the House should receive the report of the committee, (the majority of it,) and then either adopt the report or recommit the subject-matter originally referred, as it might see proper to order.

Mr. Harris's object, yesterday, was to procure a virtual recommitment—but to do it by indirection—to do it in an irregular and unparliamentary manner—to do it in a manner which should deny the right of the majority of the committee to speak for and in the name of committee—which should deny that the report of the majority was a report at all. The whole clamor of Mr. Harris's party in the House in this Kansas controversy is founded on the supremacy of the majority. But here is an effort to deny to the majority of a legislative organ the right to speak in its name. Here is an assault upon constitutional law and the rules of parliamentary procedure, by the same party which have resisted for three years the constitutional authorities in Kansas and repudiated the legal and orderly modes of popular and governmental action.

The action proposed by Mr. Harris is reprehensible in two particulars. It is so in the fact that it seeks to repudiate the majority of the committee of the House as the legal organ of the committee. It is reprehensible, moreover, in seeking to do so in an irregular and unparliamentary manner, when a perfectly regular and parliamentary mode is open for the purpose. It is both wanton and revolutionary.

But the most mortifying feature of these proceedings was the fact that on the test vote to lay on the table Mr. Harris's appeal from the decision of the Speaker denying that the action of the committee created a question of privilege, several members of the American party from the southern States voted with the black-republican party.

It is very plain that if the half-dozen gentlemen of the American party from the southern States, who voted yesterday with the solid black-republican phalanx, continue to do so to the end, the prompt admission of Kansas will be seriously jeopardized. We cannot believe that it is the ultimate intention of such men as Messrs. Marshall, Ricard, Harris of Maryland, Gilmer, and others, to vote against this measure on its final passage. If they do not cherish such an intention, and desire the speedy consummation of the measure, we cannot refrain from expressing the opinion that they are jeopardizing that object, inasmuch as every vote they shall now give in the preliminary stages of the struggle in company with the enemies of the measure, will render the struggle more and more arduous as it progresses.

We have seen with surprise and regret an angry assault upon the great measure now before Congress on the part of leading opposition journals in two or three southern States. Wherever the peripatetic lecturer of the Louisville Journal has deposited the gawron of his premeditated wit at fifty cents a head, we have observed a speedy outbreak of editorial wrath from his editorial brethren against the Lecompton constitution. The onslaught is leveled at the proposed feature of the Senate bill known as the Pugh amendment, and we had supposed that that amendment, if it should become a part of the bill, would be the ostensible ground of southern know-nothing opposition to the measure.

But the movement of Mr. Harris seems to have flushed the covey before the appointed time. The proceedings of yesterday would seem to indicate that the southern know-nothing outcry against the Pugh amendment is only a pretext, and that those southern know-nothings who will vote with the black-republicans will do so without any reference to the Pugh amendment. If they can vote with Mr. Harris, that the majority of a committee may not recommit a subject-matter and that a legislative body may recommit a subject-matter and enlarge a committee before the committee has informed it of the progress it has made, upon the informal and unparliamentary allegation of a minority, it seems to us that they can vote any black-republican absurdity and monstrosity whatever.

It will be seen from our regular report of the House proceedings that several democratic members were absent from their posts on yesterday.

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